

## Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 OMB-01

TRSE-00 EB-07 AID-05 /068 W  
----- 058107

R 161245Z MAY 75

FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8736

INFO AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

AMEMBASSY DACCA

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU

AMCONSUL BOMBAY

AMCONSUL CALCUTTA

AMCONSUL MADRAS

BT

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 NEW DELHI 6576

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, IN

SUBJ: DOMESTIC POLITICAL SITUATION: J.P. SLIPPING

SUMMARY: J.P.M NARAYAN'S MOVEMENT SEEMS TO BE LOSING  
MOMENTUM. MORARJI DESAI HAS EFFECTIVELY ELBOWED  
NARAYAN OUT OF THE GUJARAT ELECTION SCENE, WHERE  
THE PROLIFERATION OF OPPOSITION STRENGTH HAS  
ENHANCED CONGRESS-R'S ELECTORAL PROSPECTS. NARAY,'S  
RECENT VISITS TO THE NON-HINDI STATES OF WEST BENGAL,  
ANDHRA PRADESH, TAMIL NADU AND GUJARAT REAPED NO REAL  
POLITICAL COMMITMENTS TO HIS CAUSE. HIS MAIN PROBLEMS  
CONTINUE TO BE THE LACK OF AN ORGANIZATION BASE, OVER-  
IDEALISTIC GOALS, AND DIVISIONS AMONG HIS OPPOSITION  
PARTY ALLIES. NARAYAN'S SLIPPAGE, COMBINED WITH A  
SOMEWHAT BETTER ECONOMIC CLIMATE IN NORTHERN INDIAN AND  
FOUR RECENT CONGRESS BY-ELECTION VICTORIES IN STATE LEGIS-  
LATURES HAVE STRENGTHENED MRS. GANDHI'S HAND. THE  
PRIME MINISTER STILL FACES A NUMBER OF KNOTTY POLITICAL  
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PROBLEMS, SOME J.P. RELATED, SOME NOT. THE GUJARAT ELECTORATE

MAY STILL ILLUSTRATE A STRONG VOTER DISENCHANTMENT WITH CONGRESS RULE WHEN IT GOES TO THE POLLS IN EARLY JUNE. SERIOUS INTRA-CONGRESS FACTIONALISM IN FOUR CONGRESS-LED STATES, INCLUDING POLITICALLY IMPORTANT UTTAR PRADESH, WILL DARKEN CONGRESS' PROSPECTS FOR THE UPCOMING NATIONAL ELECTIONS SHOULD THEY CONTINUE. WITHIN THE NEXT TWO MONTHS, THE ALLAHABAD HIGH COURT MAY RULE AGAINST MRS. GANDHI IN THE PENDING 1971 ELECTION-PETITION CASE. A NEGATIVE DECISION WOULD INVOKE A CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISION

TEMPOREGILY DISQUALIFYING THE PRIME MINISTER FROM HOLDING OR STANDING FOR PUBLIC OFFICE. THOUGH THERE ARE ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURES AVAILABLE TO NEGATE THE PENALTY, THE PRIME MINISTER WOULD SUFFER POLITICALLY FROM AN ADVERSE DECISION. END SUMMARY.

1. J.P. NARAYAN'S GRADUAL LOSS OF STEAM HAS BEEN NOTICEABLE SINCE OUR LAST DOMESTIC POLITICAL ROUNDUP IN FEBRUARY (REFTEL).# DURING THE WINTER MONTHS, HE TRAVELED WIDELY IN THE HINDI BELT, ROUSING ENORMOUS CROWDS AND MEDIA ATTENTION. A STRING OF BY-ELECTIONS CONTESTED BY "PEOPLES" CANDIDATES WENT AGAINST CONGRESS. NARAYAN THUNDERED AGAINST CONGRESS CORRUPTION AND MRS. GANDHI'S AUTHORITARIANISM FROM PUBLIC PLATFORMS AND STRUCK DISSENSION WITHIN CONGRESS. IN MID-APRIL, MRS. GANDHI WROTE A CONCILIATORY LETTER TO NARAYAN PROMISING TO CONSIDER HIS PROPOSALS FOR ELECTORAL , REFRAINED FROM DENOUNCING NARAYAN'S PUBLIC, AND REJECTED ADVICE TO MOVE AGAINST HIS SUPPORTERS IN CONGRESS.

2. NARAYAN'S SLIPPAGE OVER THE PAST TWO MONTHS HAS BEEN PARTIALLY DUE TO HIS UNPRODUCTIVE CONCENTRATION OF STATES OUTSIDE THE HINDI BELT. IN GUJARAT, DIRECTLY AFTER MORARJI DESAI'S SUCCESSFUL FAST FOR EARLY ELECTIONS, HE TRIED AND FAILED TO ASSIST IN OPPOSITION PREPARATIONS TO CONFRONT CONGRESS. THE ELDERLY (80) AND STUBBORN DESAI LET NARAYAN KNOW THAT HE PERSONALLY INTENDED TO ORCHESTRATE THE "PEOPLES" FRONT IN HIS NATIVE STATE. ASIDE FROM THE GUJARAT REBUFF NARAYAN HAS ALSO UNSUCCESSFULLY SOUGHT SUPPORT IN THE NON-HINDI STATES OF MAHARASHTRA, WEST BENGAL, ANDHRA PRADESH, TAMIL NADU, AND KERALA OVER THE PAST TWO MONTHS. CONFIDENTIAL

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3. NEVERTHELESS, NARAYAN'S SLIPPAGE IS DUE MORE TO THE INHERENT WEAKNESSES OF HIS MOVEMENT'S PHILOSOPHY AND APPROACH THAN TO ITS GEOGRAPHICAL LIMITATION TO THE HINDI-SPEAKING AREAS OF NORTHERN INDIA. POLITICAL LEADERS, THE PRESS AND, NOT LEAST, THE INDIAN VOTER, REMAIN CONFUSED ABOUT HIS OFT-REPEATED BUT FUZZY GOALS OF "TOTAL REVOLUTION" AND "PARTYLESS DEMOCRACY." NARAYAN'S SOPHISTICATED

EXPLANATIONS THAT ENVISION THE MOBILIZATION OF THE POPULACE  
AT THE VILLAGE LEVEL TOWARD FIRST UNDERSTANDING AND THEN  
PURSUING THEIR OWN INTERESTS THROUGH "PEOPLES"  
INSTITUTIONS AND REPRESENTATIVES WHILE TRANCENDING  
POLITICAL PARTIES ARE SHRUGGED OFF. HIS REFUSAL TO  
DIRECTLY ASSOCIATE HIMSELF WITH AN ANTI-CONGRESS POLITICAL  
ORGANIZATION IS RESENTED BY OPPOSITION LEADERS EAGER TO  
TURN WHAT UNITY HE HAS ENGENDERED INTO AN INSTITUTIONALIZED  
ALTERNATIVE TO CONGRESS. NARAYAN'S AGE IS A FURTHER CON-  
STRAINING FACTOR. AT 74 HE SUFFERS FROM RESPIRATORY  
AILMENTS AND MUST STOP PERIODICALLY TO REBUILD HIS STRENGTH.  
ALL ARE AWARE THAT HE CANNOT CONTINUE HIS ONE-YEAR-OLD  
BARNSTROMING PACE FOR TOO LONG. THE PSYCOLOVNCAL FALLOUT  
FROM THE RECENT SETBACKS TO HIS MOVEMENT MAY TAKE A  
TOLL ON HIS HEALTH AS WELL.

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NOTE BY OC/T: # REFTel OMITTED WILL SERVICES UPON REQUEST.

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
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**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** PARTY LEADERS, OPPOSITION PARTIES  
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**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 16 MAY 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
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**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** RowellE0  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
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**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
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**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
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**TAGS:** PINT, IN, (NARAYAN, JAYA PRAKASH)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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